

*United States Marine Corps
Command and Staff College
Marine Corp University
2076 South Street
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068*

MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

**Role of Pakistan in War against Terrorism with Particular Emphasis on
its Tribal Area**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF MILITARY STUDIES

Author:

Commander Muhammad Saleem Ghauri Pakistan Navy (Marines), CG - 4

AY 08-09

Mentor and Oral Defense Committee Member: **Dr Douglas E. Streusand PhD**, Associate Professor
of International Relations

Approved: 

Date: 29 April 2009

Oral Defense Committee Member: 

Approved: 

Date: 29 April 2009

Report Documentation Page				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.					
1. REPORT DATE 2009		2. REPORT TYPE		3. DATES COVERED 00-00-2009 to 00-00-2009	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Role of Pakistan in War against Terrorism with Particular Emphasis on its Tribal Area				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) United States Marine Corps,Command and Staff College, Marine Corps Combat Development Command,Marine Corps University, 2076 South Street,Quantico,VA,22134-5068				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT Same as Report (SAR)	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 43	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT unclassified	b. ABSTRACT unclassified	c. THIS PAGE unclassified			

Executive Summary

Title: Role of Pakistan in War against Terrorism with Particular Emphasis on its Tribal Area

Author: Commander Muhammad Saleem Ghauri Pakistan Navy (Marines), CG - 4

Thesis: Pakistan can fight the war against terrorism in its tribal areas effectively with the assistance from the US and the international community. In order to win the war against terrorism, along with the military actions, the US and the international community must foster the development of economical, social and political system in Pakistan's tribal area.

Discussion: The tribal areas of Pakistan are the areas of the world where rule of the law has never been enforced. During the British time in the South Asia, tribal areas were not ruled but used as buffer zone against the invaders from the west through mutual agreements with tribal leaders. After independence of Pakistan from Britain, status quo was maintained for the tribal areas. The tribal areas were not extended with the privileges being provided to the common citizen of Pakistan. Tribal leaders were trusted to develop their territory with funds provided by the Pakistan's government. The Cold War era flooded the tribes with heavy economic and military support to fight USSR but resulted in strengthening the tribal leaders and degradation of the basic human rights of the population. After the cold war, US and its allies mishandled the Pakistan and the Afghanistan that led creation of terrorist organization i.e. Al Qaeda. Lately Al Qaeda became the reason for the 9/11 incident and the war against terrorism. Although the Pakistan, the US and its allies have been fighting war on terror since 2001, however, there are no visible signs of victory so far. It is commonly perceived that the US and its Allies may win the war but will not be winning the hearts and minds of the people where the roots of terrorism are lying. To eliminate the terrorism from tribal areas, the Pakistan, the US and the international community have to uplift the tribal areas economically, socially and politically. This uplift will bring change in the people of Pakistan's tribal areas which will work more effectively then a missile (CIA drone attacks) to eliminate terrorist networks from the tribal areas. Needless to say, much has been done but still more needs to be done. Now it is the duty of international community to assist Pakistan morally, economically and militarily to execute the development plans and to fight terrorists effectively.

Conclusion: Although tribal areas were ignored in past for various reasons, it is still not too late to develop these areas and bring them into the main stream by enhancing their political, economic and social system. The time is also not that far when tribal areas will be peaceful, responsible and friendly to comply with the national as well as international obligations and will be hostile and inhospitable to the terrorists.

DISCLAIMER

THE OPINIONS AND CONCLUSIONS EXPRESSED HEREIN ARE THOSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT AUTHOR AND DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF EITHER THE MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY. REFERENCES TO THIS STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOREGOING STATEMENT.

QUOTATIONS FROM, ABSTRACTION FROM, OR REPRODUCTION OF ALL OR ANY PART OF THIS DOCUMENT IS PERMITTED PROVIDED PROPER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT IS MADE.

Preface

The ongoing "Global War on Terror (GWOT)" is not a result of aggression by the state sponsor armies, but of the terrorist action of the non state actors i.e. Al Qaeda. The main focus of this war is the elimination of Al-Qaeda and its allies i.e. Taliban, to make this world peaceful and free from the terrorists who can pose a threat to the world peace at any time. Pakistan, the US and its allies are fighting war against terrorism in Afghanistan and its adjoining tribal areas of the Pakistan. Pakistan, being adjacent to Afghanistan and having the tribal areas in its own, is playing the active role of front line state that makes it the most important US ally in this war. Pakistan was also declared as the Major Non NATO Ally (MNNA) to provide enough military and economic support to achieve the core objective of the war on terror.

As a Pakistani, I considered it is my duty to apprise about the tribal areas of the Pakistan. It may be noted that Pakistan is fighting the war on terror in its tribal areas with its security forces i.e. Army and Frontier Corps, to shoulder the responsibility expected of an international alliance which is far beyond its capacity or ability to fight the war on terror. Pakistan being a victim of terrorism is facing terrorism in most of its parts. This terrorism is in retaliation to Pakistan's alliance with the international community. It is important to highlight that Pakistan, since its inception, never faced any problems from tribal areas. Instead, Pakistan used the tribal areas as buffer between Pakistan and Afghanistan. These tribal areas are the same areas which led US and its allies to win the cold war and disintegrate USSR. US and its allies mishandled the Pakistan's tribal areas and the Afghanistan after the Cold War that aggravated the situation to a level where tribal areas are now threat to the World peace.

My paper will address the root causes for growth of terrorist network in tribal areas and their effect on the world peace. Pakistan's effort in fighting the war on terror with its limited resources and poor economy will also be highlighted. The duty of the international community will also be deliberated to extend their assistance economically, morally and socially to Pakistan in its efforts to fight and eliminate terrorist networks from its soil (Tribal areas). At the end of my paper, I will recommend some measures to fight the war on terror with non military means to bring long lasting peace, not only in tribal areas but also in throughout the world. My utmost efforts will be focused on highlighting the efforts made by Pakistan to fight the war on terror so far. I will also work to improve the image of my country in the West and to provide useful guidelines to my US counterparts to fight war against terrorism with a new angle.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to Almighty Allah¹ (The God) who honoured me to represent my country at this world forum. I seek His guidance and support to accomplish this assigned task in time. I must acknowledge the deep prayers of my parents (Almighty Allah may rest their souls in Paradise) which are continuous source of my motivation to put my all efforts to up keep the flag of my country at all times and every where.

I am thankful to my military adviser Lt Col Arantz USMC and civilian faculty adviser Mr. Dr Adam Cobb PhD, who guided me to write on this topic. It was an added opportunity for me to explain some of the most important facts that are directly related to the outcome of this war. I am also thankful to my mentor who provided me with continuous guidance to complete my task in highly professional manner. I am thankful to Dr. Thomas Parker from OSD, Dr. Amin Tarzai and the His Highness Mr. Husain Haqqani, the Pakistan Ambassador to the United States for their guidance and valuable input.

I acknowledge the college administrative and the Marine Corps University Library staff whose continuous support helped me to complete my assignment.

Table of Contents

TITLE	I
EXECUTIVE SUMMERY	II
DISCLAIMER	III
PREFACE	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VI
LIST OF ILLUSTRATION	VIII
LIST OF TABLES	IX
INTRODUCTION	1
Strategic Importance of the Area	1
Historical Background and Present Highlights	2
Relation with Afghanistan	3
Tribal areas and Cold War	3
AFTER EFFECTS COLD WAR	4
Pak US relation	4
Mujahedeens rule in Afghanistan	5
CREATION OF AL QAEDA AND TALIBAN	5
Al Qaeda	5
Taliban	5
Relation between Al Qaeda and Taliban	6
PAKISTAN AND TERRORISM	6
Terrorism in Pakistan Pre 9/11	6
Terrorism in Pakistan Post 9/11	7
Terrorism and Tribal areas	7
US Adventure in Tribal Areas	8

Root Cause for terrorism	8
Political Issues	9
Social and Economic Issues	10
Terrorism	11
Reasons of economic backwardness of FATA	11
Challenges faced by the Pakistan	12
Myth or Misconception	12
COUNTERMEASURES	13
Pakistan's Annual Development Programme Fund for FATA 2008-09	13
FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015	14
US development assistance for FATA	14
RECOMMENDATIONS	16
CONCLUSION	19
APPENDIX A	21
APPENDIX B	22
APPENDIX C	23
APPENDIX D	24
APPENDIX E	25
APPENDIX F	26
APPENDIX G	27
APPENDIX H	28-29
BIBLIOGRAPHY	30

LIST OF ILLUSTRATION

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----|
| 1. | Map of FATA | 21 |
| 2. | Maps of Central Asian states | 22 |

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Annual Development Programme (ADP) for FATA 2008-09	23
2.	FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-15	24
3.	Consolidated budget for the FAT SDP 2006-15	25
4.	Funding Arrangement, FATA SDP 2006-15	26
5.	FATA SDP Development Matrix 2006-15	27
6.	Industry - Budget FATA SDP 2006-15	28
7.	Mining - Budget FATA SDP 2006-15	28
8.	Estimated production of Minerals Budget FATA SDP 2006-15	29
9.	Irrigation, Water and power - Budget FATA SDP 2006-15	29

INTRODUCTION

September 9, 2001, the United States of America (USA) faced the devastating terrorist attacks on its soil long after the Pearl Harbor not by a rival nation but a terrorist organization. These attacks introduced the World with a new unconventional terrorist threat in form Al-Qaeda and also a new way of warfare in form of counter insurgency (COIN). US declared the war against the terrorism and demanded the culprit from the Afghanistan's government of Taliban which were housing the terrorists of Al Qaeda and its leadership i.e. Osama Bin laden etc. Failure to that Afghanistan was attacked by the US and its allies to eliminate the Al Qaeda network and its allies to make the World safer from the terrorists of Al Qaeda. Initially, Al Qaeda's terrorists and Taliban hid themselves in the mountains of the Afghanistan, but due heavy attrition rate as a result of the US and it's allies military operations, later headed to Pakistan's tribal areas for safe heavens. Pakistan as an ally of the US in war against terrorism launched military operations through its security forces i.e. Army and Frontier Corps etc. in its tribal areas to play its active role in war against terrorism to eliminate the terrorists from its soil. Although, Pakistan is fighting the terrorist networks in tribal areas but lack of suitable equipments, weaponry and training/expertise of its forces in counter insurgency operations; Pakistan is facing serious difficulties to fight the war against terrorism in tribal areas effectively. Considering the nature of threat and the interest of entire the world specially the US (being the victim of terrorist attacks), Pakistan needs to be provided with all necessary assistance in term of military training for COIN operations and latest equipment/weaponry to fight the war on terror in highly professional manner. Pakistan also needs to be assisted financially to uplift/developed the tribal areas socially, economically and politically to address the root cause of terrorist threat to make this part of the World peaceful for our coming generations.

Strategic Importance of the Tribal Area. Besides being the one of the most important areas of Pakistan because of its strategic location in proximity with Afghanistan, tribal areas are also one of the most sensitive areas of the World. The War on Terror has further enhanced the importance of the tribal areas significantly. (See map at Appendix I). The Tribal Areas have the strategic

importance, as these areas can play a significant role of a buffer zone between the turbulent Afghanistan and Pakistan. Of late this importance has been further highlighted in global geopolitics because tribal areas lie between the warm waters of Arabian Sea and the Central Asian countries i.e. Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan etc (See map at Appendix B) , which have a very large oil and gas potential. The Central Asian states being land locked, the energy wealth has to be exported by pipelines passing through these areas to Arabian Sea Ports for onward distribution to the world. As the energy control is a key to the global supremacy, the 21st century power game is destined to be played by the major powers around the potential producers and pipeline routes.² Thus the tribal areas located on the rim of Afghanistan border with Pakistan, cannot remain immune to the spill over effects of any socio-economic or political storms occurring in this strategic triangle.

Historical Background and Present Highlights As the focus of, this paper will surround the tribal areas of Pakistan. So it is necessary to introduce with the historical background and present highlights of the tribal areas for its better comprehension. The tribes (pashtun) along the borders of Afghanistan, known as the tribal areas of Pakistan, have a rich history of self governance. The tribal areas were never ruled by any invaders or the rulers of the neighboring states, instead, the tribal areas were joined with their neighboring states through mutual agreements and deals. Presently, the tribal areas are formed parts of Pakistan, and according to the constitution of Pakistan have been divided into three categories for the purpose of their administration³: Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Provincial Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) of North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and Provincial Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) of Baluchistan. The tribal areas of Pakistan are being governed by the special law Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) 1901⁴ under the direct executive authority of the President of Pakistan⁵ (See detail below)⁶. Laws framed by the Parliament or National Assembly of Pakistan do not apply here unless so ordered by the President, who is also empowered to issue regulations for the “peace and good governance” of the tribal areas. Out of the above mentioned categories’ of the tribal areas, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)⁷ are the main stay of tribal areas.

FATA consists of seven Agencies namely Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan, and tribal areas adjoining Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Lakki Marwat, D I Khan and Tank. These tribal areas are least developed and having a low literacy and high unemployment rate. General population of tribal areas is exposed to the terrorists which engage them to fulfill their evil desires either for money (temporary employment) or black mailing (life threaten to the individual and their families). Pakistan is putting its all effort to developed these areas through its meager resources but need more to bring some meaningful change in the tribal areas.

Relationship with Afghanistan. The relations of the tribes of the Pakistan with the Afghan's tribes are very natural and strong due their various shared commonalities i.e. race, ethnicity, religion and living style. Due to their mutual strong relationship past and present governments are using tribal areas as the buffer between Pakistan and Afghanistan to minimize the military presence in order to safe guards their western borders. Tribal people of both sides also run trade and business mutually to earn their daily living. The tribal people are also strongly bonded into a family system with each other, which further strengthens their relationship.

Tribal areas and Cold War. During the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan from 1979 until 1989 or known as cold war, the tribal areas were used for the training and launching of the mujahedeen⁸ to fight against USSR to liberate Afghanistan. The Mujahedeen were actively supported by the western and middle eastern countries i.e. US and Saudi Arabia, financially as well as militarily. The tribal areas also became the largest settlement for the refugees who migrated from Afghanistan. As a result, these areas became the hub for the every illegal activity i.e. smuggling, drug trafficking and gun running. The cultivation of poppy also increased and these areas became the biggest supplier of heroin in the World. The US and other World leading nations did not take serious note of these activities in tribal areas because of their preoccupation with their fight against the USSR and serving of their goal by these areas. The gravity of this threat was considered very low as compared to the threat being posed by the USSR. Ultimately, after prolonged guerilla warfare with the Mujahedeen, the USSR withdrew from Afghanistan in

1989. Subsequently, the USSR disintegrated into many states and also lost the title of world super power. Of course, winning of the cold war and gaining the title of sole super power of the Globe, was an over whelming success for the US. Instead of appreciating the efforts of the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan and rebuilding of the war destroyed areas, the US not only left them in distress rather impose economic and military sanctions which resulted in the formation of anti US/western alliances in the tribal areas of both the countries.

AFTER EFFECTS OF COLD WAR

Pak US Relation. Pakistan acted as front line state during the cold war and provided active support to vested interests of the US and its allies to fight the cold war against USSR through volunteers from its own soil, Afghanistan and Muslim nations. The US influenced Western and Middle Eastern countries to extend full support to Pakistan to augment the war efforts. After the USSR withdrew from Afghanistan, the US also withdrew its supports from Pakistan and imposed economic and military sanctions. At this point of time, Pakistan was in dire need of financial support to help Afghanistan in its rebuilding and establishment of a favorable government in Kabul. In absence of US support, Pakistan's economy was not that strong, which could have afforded the rebuilding of the Afghanistan. Ultimately, Pakistan also withdrew its support from Afghanistan which led to civil war among the various factions of the mujahedeen to seek control of Kabul. Pakistan, which was already supporting millions of the Afghan refugees on its soil, was further flooded with fresh refugees due to civil war in Afghanistan. This influx of the refugees severely weakened Pakistan's economy further.

It is pertinent to highlight that US imposed the economic and military sanctions on Pakistan in 1990, under the Pressler Amendment, a country-specific law that singles out only one nation on the nuclear issue. One consequence of the Pressler sanctions was the US decision to withhold all of Pakistan's military equipment that contracted prior to 1990; this equipment was worth about \$1.2 billion, which was paid in advance by the Pakistan. In Pakistan's perception it was no accident that the application of sanctions coincided with the end of the Cold War. The

Pressler sanctions were applied, when Pakistan's co-operation was no longer needed following the disintegration of the Soviet Union⁹.

This sudden shift in Pak-US relation, bring Pakistan to an odd situation where it was neither in the position to help Afghanistan in its rebuilding nor to stabilize its own economy. In addition, the civil war in Afghanistan was also posing another serious threat to its security and economy. The irony about US non-proliferation policy in South Asia was that while the impetus for proliferation at every step came from India, it was Pakistan, and not India, that was subjected to penalties, embargoes and sanctions.¹⁰

Mujahedeen rule in Afghanistan. On the other hand in Afghanistan, civil war among the USSR sponsor communist government and the Mujahedeen were on rise. All efforts were being made to gain the control of Kabul and to establish a central government that truly represents the Afghani people, but none of the faction could do so. Until the rise of Taliban in 1996, the civil war in Afghanistan, seriously hampered trade from central Asia. Most of the trade routes from Central to South Asia were through Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas which were closed causing a huge loss of revenue for both nations.

CREATION OF AL QAEDA AND TALIBAN

Al Qaeda. The mujahedeens, who fought against USSR, were volunteers from Pakistan, Afghanistan and other Muslim countries. The Osama bin laden, being the rich person was a major source of providing and collecting financial support from all over the world for the mujahedeen. In 1988, a year before the withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan, Osama bin laden with his group of mujahedeen formed an organization called "Al-Qaeda". Al-Qaeda's headquarters was established in Peshawar and Afghanistan with mission to wage war against the apostate Muslim governments, the USA and Israel¹¹. The core objectives of Al-Qaeda were to unite all Muslims and establish the Caliphate to implement the true Islam, as they understood it, which was being practices during the time of Holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him)

Taliban. The Taliban were the students of the Madrasahs (the religious schools), who were organized by the Mullah Umer to bring peace and provide justice to the war ruined nation

of the Afghanistan. After the withdrawal of USSR, the corruption and illegal activities were the normal for the Mujahedeen. Afghanistan was deprived of any relief after even fighting the prolonged war of independence with the USSR. After the fall of Soviet backed Afghan government in April 1992, in hands of Tajik Mujahedeen, the country came under another civil war among the mujahedeen to establish pashtun government in Kabul. In late 1994, when Afghanistan was in a state of disorder and disintegration, Taliban emerged as a new power to provide relief to the Afghan people. On April 4, 1996, Mullah Umer declared himself as Amir ul Momineen (the leaders of Faithful) and established a proper Islamic government with its capital in Kandahar. Initially, the Taliban achieved success through their exemplary character and actions, which helped them to gain the favours and sympathies of the majority in Afghanistan. The Taliban occupied the major part of Afghanistan including Kabul, by late 1996. They established a government and implemented the true and rigid form of Islam.

Relation between Al Qaeda and Taliban. The relationship between Al Qaeda and the Taliban has been very strong since the cold war when both were fighting USSR together. Al Qaeda supported the Taliban economically and also assisted the Taliban to produce the finest quality of heroin, which was the major source of income for the Taliban government¹². Al Qaeda successfully influenced the Taliban with its heavy financial support and in return used Afghanistan as a base for the training and operations. Due to the inherent relations of Taliban with tribal peoples, the tribal areas were also used to fulfill their objectives.

PAKISTAN AND TERRORISM

Terrorism in Pakistan-Pre 9/11 After the cold war, the gun running and drug culture was on the rise in Pakistan. It helped to arm the religious, ethnic and political groups to eliminate their rivals. Especially in 1990, the law and order situation in Karachi, the economical capital of Pakistan, became worse that whole city was handed over to the Army to establish the writ of Government. Although the situation was brought under control after massive military operations and recovery of huge illegal weapons and ammunition, a clean sweep was not possible.

Terrorism in Pakistan - Post 9/11 After the incident of 9/11, the US declared a war against terrorism, specifically targeted the Al Qaeda and the Taliban. US Secretary of State Mr. Colin Powell took the consent of the President of Pakistan on telephone by the famous sentence that *"You are either with us or against us"*¹³¹⁴. In response, Pakistan opted to join the US, being the victim of terrorism for many years. It was considered an appropriate option to fight terrorism together with US. The strategic location and the neighbor country to Afghanistan, Pakistan became the front line state to the US alliance once again after the cold war. Although Pakistan's government faced heavy resistance from its public on this alliance, it was proved to be in the best interest of Pakistan. The Pro-Taliban element in Pakistan did not favour this alliance and in retaliation began terrorist activities to show their grievances to the government. It was also observed that since then, Taliban came into power in Afghanistan; Pakistan's writ weakened in its tribal region. The majority of the tribal people along with Taliban were fighting the northern alliance. Now, the situation was much worse than in the past, Pakistan's support to the US in the war on terror was taken seriously by tribal people due their security concerns and close relations with the Taliban. Al Qaeda, the Taliban and tribal leaders launched an anti-US campaign to motivate youth of Afghanistan and tribal areas to join them in their fight against the US and its allies. The activists from these organizations undertook serious terrorist attack at public and governmental infrastructure to destabilize and weaken the writ of the government of Pakistan. Even serious attempts were made to assassinate the President Musharraf twice through suicidal attacks but never succeeded. Ultimately, Pakistan deployed its military in tribal areas for the first time after the independence to establish the writ of government and to curb the terrorist networks.

Terrorism and Tribal Areas In 2001, the US overthrew the Taliban government and gained control over the Afghanistan in short span of time. After the US occupation in the Afghanistan, the US military initiated the operations against the suspected hide outs of Al Qaeda and the Taliban in mountainous terrains i.e. "Tora Bora Operation" in which 240 Al Qaeda operatives belonging to the 26 different countries were captured¹⁵¹⁶. Finding the Afghanistan

unsafe, these terrorist elements headed towards the tribal areas of the Pakistan because of their relationship with tribal people and well established hide outs of the cold war period. These elements also perceived that the US may not opt to attack Pakistan to eliminate their hide outs and these areas would remain safe to execute their evil design for longer time but it was proved to be a dream for them. In June 2002, Pakistan deployed its Army in tribal areas and launched military operations in South Waziristan against the Al Qaeda element. Since then, Pakistan's Army was heavily engaged in tribal areas to eliminate the terrorist network in coordination with US CENTCOM and intelligence agencies. So far, Pakistan has been quite successful in its effort¹⁷.

US Adventures in Tribal Areas. Despite the assurance from the Government of Pakistan, the US had also attacked suspected hide outs directly. At present, the US is not launching any ground operation inside the tribal areas, but the CIA never hesitates to launch missiles attacks through drones in tribal areas. These independent operations in Pakistan territory by the US are a serious concern for the Government of Pakistan. Pakistan had launched its protest against the uncoordinated drone attacks to the US many a time but all in vain. It is important to highlight that sudden UAV attacks in tribal areas without the coordination with Pakistan, jeopardize the peace effort in areas which are also seriously affecting the outcome of the war directly. US government had been assured many times that Pakistan is under taking effective operations to eliminate AL Qaeda and Taliban network in its tribal areas but due to unknown reasons positive response is still awaited from the US. It is pertinent to highlight that US must trust its allies and their efforts instead of relying solely on its capability/technology. US must share the information for coordinated attacks on suspected hideouts to achieve success and to minimize the chances of innocent killing. It may be noted that killing of the innocents motivate their families to join the terrorist to take revenge of their relatives from the US. The drone attacks, instead of eliminating of Al Qaeda and the Taliban's, provides a sound reason for their expansion.

Root Cause for Terrorism. Since 2001, the war on terror is being fought but it seems that instead of reaching to its culmination, it is expending day by day. It may be considered that this

war cannot be fought alone militarily. There is a dire need to find out the root causes which are serious concern in prolonging the war. It is also considered that the war on terror has taken turn and has been converted into the war of prestige and status for US and its allies¹⁸¹⁹. Lessons must be learned from the history of the ex-USSR that after fighting 10 consecutive years and spending more than US\$ 45 (forty five) billion in Afghanistan, the USSR not only lost the war, but also its status being the super power²⁰. Since 2001, the outcome of war on terror may viewed critically that why the non military solution were not being tried by the US and its allies in Afghanistan and tribal areas of Pakistan to addressed the core issue of terrorism. If some serious efforts (socially, economically and politically) would have been exercised then the worse situation of today could have been avoided.

It is still not too late to make serious efforts to bring peace in tribal areas rather making it more terrible through production of evil elements. Committing to fight any type of insurgency without given due consideration to its root causes may remain fruitless. The insurgent movements whether in Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir or Afghanistan, needs to be considered a top priority. UK Foreign Secretary David Miliband while speaking over the recent terrorist attacks, by the Kashmiri Jehadi organiastions, in Mumbai stated that "*Resolving the Kashmir dispute would make India less vulnerable to attack*"²¹ Viewing his statement critically, it is clear that resolution of root causes are mandatory for bringing long lasting peace in any part of the World. Similarly, if the terrorist issue in tribal areas is viewed through same angle, then need arises to address this very root cause in tribal areas as well. The major problems of the Tribal areas are considered root causes for the expansion of today's terrorism. Although there is long list of problems and issues, the Political, Social, Economic and Terrorism issues are considered the most crucial issues which are directly effecting the efforts to establish peace in the tribal areas.

Political Issues. The people of tribal areas have never enjoyed the human rights and privileges conferred upon other citizens of Pakistan by the constitution of Pakistan²². Tribal areas are banned for the political parties which remains a hurdle for its development. There is no established administrative, political or judicial system that strengthens the base for peace and

prosperity. The tribal leaders were entrusted for the development of their tribes through the political agents (the only representation of government body in each tribal area).

Social and Economic Issues. The socio economic issues are considered vital for the upkeep and prosperity of any area in the world but tribal areas were deprived of such thing since long. In following there are few facts which will help in understanding this important aspect comprehensively:

- a. **Poverty** The total population of FATA is 3.176 millions with an annual growth rate of 2.19%²³. At present more then 60% population live below the poverty line due to limited resources that are available to the population.
- b. **Agriculture** The land for the cultivation is very limited due its hilly terrain and poor irrigation system. This terrain makes it more difficult to cultivate some crops as major source to boost the economy.
- c. **Literacy Rate.** Pakistan inherited a poorly developed educational system from the British and FATA was no exception. The region has a literacy rate of 17.4% which is significantly lower than the national average of 43.92%, while female literacy is less than three percent ²⁴. Tribal areas lack of proper school infrastructure and teaching staff. Females are not encouraged to attend the schools and are limited to religious education by their elder women at home only.
- d. **Health** The health system is also very poor like poor education system. There are 33 hospitals with 301 dispensaries for 3.176 millions people of FATA, it is estimated that one doctor for population of about 6970. ²⁵ The root cause for the ill health in areas is due to the lack of clean drinking water for the majority of peoples.
- e. **Trade.** Trade has been a major source of economic activity in the area. However, due to smuggling and other illegal practices, the trade opportunities have diminished over the years. Most of the tribesmen consider smuggling as a legitimate business activity and call it as their livelihood. However, the real beneficiaries are the big mafias which control the trade (smuggling).

f. **Minerals** Tribal area possesses vast deposits of numerous minerals/natural resources. Due to inadequate geological surveys, security environments and tribal disputes over mineral rich lands has not allowed mineral exploration and its adequate utilization²⁶.

j. **Livestock**. Livestock are also of vital economic importance in FATA. However, due to lack of scientific methods of animal husbandry, livestock are not also considered a healthy income source for the tribal population.

k. **Overseas Employment**. Labour in Gulf countries was another source of livelihood, but with an increasing competition in the overseas market, this source of monetary remittances is also dwindling.

l. **Denial of Access to Information Technology** The major reasons for the denial of Information technology in any form, to common peoples of tribal areas, are the extremely low literacy rate, rigid tribal traditions and the monopoly of tribal leaders. It leads to lack of awareness to the modern and civilized world. It also compelled the residents of the tribal areas to live in Stone Age era and attract the youth towards the terrorist organization as their profession/hobby as well as earning source due high rate of unemployment.

Terrorism. The thinking and perceptions of US about the Muslim world has changed after 9/11. Now, FATA which hosts many foreigners i.e. Al Qaeda, has emerged as epicenter of harboring terrorism and a potential threat to West in general and US interests in particular.

Reasons for Economic Backwardness of FATA. Tribal societies are generally unwilling for any change. There is huge reluctance from the tribal leaders to change their customs, judicial and administrative system. Tribal leaders have vested interests to keep people uneducated so as to rule them forever. Tribal leaders did not allow the development for fear of loosening their hold on tribal people. The social and political instability in FATA has not allowed any worthwhile socio-economic activity and has deterred the investors. The government also never made any effort or policies for their uplift and left at the mercy of their leaders. The influx of refugees from

Afghanistan is also a severe strain on the already shattered economy of the tribal areas. The constitutional position of tribal areas had also affected the development as no checks and balance system exists on the tribal leaders and the political administration responsible for utilization of the developmental funds. There is no means available to counter the propaganda spread by miscreants or their leaders that led the general population away from development and prosperity. There is no policing and intelligence system to keep check on illegal activities. It is important to note that until today, there is no political party in tribal areas and not even allowed by the tribal leaders to promote any, as the political parties are considered a threat to their tribal leadership. Despite all irritants, it is considered that the political system may bring some change in system to led tribal areas to an era of development.

Challenges faced by the Pakistan. Pakistan is blessed with all the natural resources and potential to be utilized to improve its economy. Unfortunately Pakistan could not fully explore either natural resources or the potential of its people to strengthen the economy or well being of its people. Since the inception of Pakistan, it is facing numerous challenges i.e. Kashmir issue, Rivalry with India, Durand line, Terrorism, Political instability and Successive military regimes. These all factors never allowed let any government to work sincerely for its people. The tribal areas, being the buffer between Pakistan and Afghanistan, were not given priority as most of Pakistan's efforts were focused to secure its eastern border with India. Tribal areas were left to their tribal leaders with promise to remain peaceful. The cold war era and USSR invasion to Afghanistan became the prime cause to the present day situation. The issue of the Durand line is also an irritant that needs to be solved by Pakistan and Afghanistan to declare it a permanent border to deploy their security forces to stop illegal immigrant and promote trade system.

Myth or Misconception. Notwithstanding the above, the major reasons, for the failure of various military and non military efforts are due to the unwillingness or lack of cooperation by the general public. The unemployment, lack of education and minimal access to media, helped terrorist network to propagate their agenda to misguide the public especially the youth. Their tools of exploitations are many some are i.e. to propagate the "War on Terror" as Crusade²⁷, the

war against Islam/Muslims which is normally supported by the statement of Ex-President of USA Mr. Bush, The New Great Game²⁸ of US and Western World to gain access and control over the energy resources of Muslim Central Asian states²⁹ through the Afghanistan and Pakistan via Arabian sea and last but not least War to eliminate Muslims³⁰ and to deprive them from being the world emerging nuclear power. Now, it is the duty of government of Pakistan vis-à-vis the international community to clearly define the objectives of the War on Terror to convince the people of Pakistan's tribal areas to cooperate in fighting the war to bring peace and prosperity for them and their coming generations.

COUNTERMEASURES

Pakistan is exercising all the available military and non military options to improve the situation in tribal areas. Pakistan has also planned various development programs in coordination with the UN, US, UK and other countries to address the core cause of terrorism. The prominent developments programs are Pakistan's Annual Development Programme Fund for FATA 2008-09, FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015, and US Development assistance for FATA. Pakistan is also making its all efforts to resolve the long standing issue between India over Kashmir and Afghanistan over Durand line. It is considered that international community especially US have to use its influence for resolution of these issues to help Pakistan to concentrate over the core issues i.e. terrorism, which is continuous threat to the World peace.

Pakistan's Annual Development Programme Fund for FATA 2008-09³¹ The Federal Government of Pakistan allocated annually funds for the development of the tribal areas known as the Annual Development Programme (ADP) through its annual budget exclusively for the development of FATA. The ADP funds approved for the current financial year 2008-09 are Rs. 7.616 Billions³² (around \$ 97 million); the summery of the same is given at Appendix C. These funds are part of federally funded Public Sector Development Programme (PSPD). In addition to the ADP, PSDP also provide funds for the project in various agencies and Frontier Regions (FRs). In addition to the above all funds, each member of the National Assembly and the Senate is also allocated with the funds for development of their constituencies under Khushhal³³

(progressive) Pakistan programme. In past, funds were misused and were not utilized prudently for various reasons. Now efforts are being made to utilize these funds wisely, but these funds are not considered sufficient to bring significant change in the area.

FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015³⁴. To bring long lasting peace into the tribal areas of Pakistan, FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015 is one of the Prime Plan. The FATA SDP aims to steer development planning in new direction, focusing on people at the grass root level. Rather than replicating the narrow focus of development initiative of the past. The SDP has taken an integrated approach to combine economic and social development and poverty elevation. The FATA SDP 2006-15, worth Rs. 124.108 Billions (\$ 1.6 Billions) was approved by the Governor of NWFP in July 2006. It was given under the responsibility of Civil Secretariat FATA in partnership with World Conservation Union (ICUN) Pakistan to execute this development plan.

The Plan was developed by experts involving the number of agencies/organizations including The government of Pakistan's Small and Medium Enterprise Development Authority (SMEDA), The International Medical Corps (IMC), The World Conservation Organization (ICUN), The United Kingdom Department for International Development and the United State Agency for International Development (USAID) and also in consultation with the local people who are the main concern of this plan and their feed back was also incorporated for its validity and acceptance by the tribal people. The overarching issues and the over all development strategies are given at Appendix D. In addition, overall budget for SDP plan, sources for funding and a development matrix are given in Appendices E, F and G. The major highlight of SDP are given at Appendix H, which includes the industry, exploration of natural resources and constructions of Dams for irrigations as well as for power generations.

US Development Assistance for FATA. Since 2001, the US had spent a huge amount of money to fight Al-Qaeda and Taliban militarily. With the expansion of terrorist networks, It has proved that use of the military has provoked the local people to join terrorist networks and to take revenge for their innocent family members who killed by the US military. The US recent

development assistance program to Pakistan by the Bush administration was considered a late realization to fight the terrorist issue other than military means but an effective measure. The US has made a five year \$ 750 million commitment beginning in FY 2007³⁵ in support of infrastructure development, maternal and child health, education and capacity building initiatives in the tribal areas and border region of Pakistan³⁶.

On the other hand, Pakistan Army's actively engaged with terrorist networks, needed modern weapons, equipment and training {in counterinsurgency (COIN) warfare} to fight the War on Terror in effective manner. It may be noted that Pakistan's Army as well as other security agencies have never been trained or equipped to fight COIN warfare. The US is planning and also running various capacity building programmes with Pakistan's government to provide weapon, equipment and training to enhance the professional strength of its Army and security agencies. US is also helping Pakistan to expend its Frontier Corps (FC)³⁷ with latest weapon and equipment. In fiscal years 2007-08, US DoD has provided \$200 million under Security Development Plan and administration is seeking \$100 million in year 2009 under Foreign Military assistance to bridge the supplement request for the additional funding³⁸.

It has been observed with great concerns that with the change of US administration, change in perception with respect to War on terror is also apparent. Recently Admiral Mullen stated that the US has to undertake some non military actions to win the hearts and minds of people of Pakistan and Afghanistan to win the war on terror³⁹. Similarly, on 27 March 2009, Mr. Obama, the new US President, has announced the new comprehensive strategy for the Pakistan and Afghanistan. It has been announced to provide assistance of US\$ 1.5 billion per year for five year to both the nations to uplift the political, social and economical system alongwith the capacity building of their military to fight the COIN in effective manner⁴⁰. President Obama, however, made clear that in return, Pakistan needs to demonstrate its commitment to fighting Al Qaeda and Taliban extremists who have used Pakistan's tribal borderlands as a haven to launch attacks on US led forces in Afghanistan.

Keeping in view the rebuilding efforts in tribal areas, the Pakistan's Ambassador Husain Haqqani to US has demanded US\$ 30 billion Marshall Plan for Pakistan and Afghanistan over the next five years to fight Al Qaeda, blunt anti-American sentiment and secure Pakistan from extremists bent on destabilizing its civilian government. It will have great impact in terms of American security and in terms of the longer term stability of the world in a very precarious region will be far greater. Pakistan has the will to fight terrorists, it needs the means and the US should provide those.⁴¹

Recommendations

The present day situation of the borders areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan especially the tribal areas (FATA) demands sincere efforts of the international community, the US, the Afghanistan and the Pakistan to apply the militarily and non militarily approaches to the terrorist threat. It is more important to win the hearts and minds of people then war itself. No war can be won without the support and cooperation of public of hostile land. It is still not too late to uplift the tribal areas through comprehensive economic, political and social development plans to bring long lasting peace in tribal areas and to eliminate terrorist threat from the tribal areas for ever. The cost of development plans may be much less then the loss which may be caused by the terrorist in future. If again like cold war, as discussed earlier, these tribal areas left unattended the consequences will be much worse than the expected. The following section recommends few measures by the international community, UN, US, Afghanistan and Pakistan should take to bring peace in tribal areas.

International Community.

The international community must understand that Pakistan is an important ally in war on terror and this war cannot be fought without Pakistan. Pakistan must be supported financially and militarily (training of the troops to fight COIN in much professional way and provision of latest weapon and equipment needed for COIN warfare) to build up its capacity to fight the War on

Terror effectively. The development plan for the tribal areas must be advertised by using all type of media i.e. electronic, print and other links i.e. bilateral talks, visits etc to gain the support of general public of Pakistan and Afghanistan which will play a vital role to achieve desired results of war on terror. Considering the limitation of tribal areas i.e. limited access to electronic media, the print media must be utilized, in form of leaflet/pamphlets/posters/cards in local language elaborated through meaningful pictures. These leaflet/pamphlets/posters/cards may be dropped in tribal belt of both sides of Pakistan and Afghanistan through UAV instead of dropping bombs and missiles. Dropping of leaflet/pamphlets/posters/cards will not only help to gain support of general public to fight terrorism but will also incite the youth to work for the progress of their areas along with the Pakistan and the international community. The international community in general and US in particular must keep the option open for dialog, keeping some compromises, commitments and agreements ahead with the willing tribal leaders and their people to fight against the terrorists and implement development plans in true letter and spirit.

International community must put in their best efforts to bring true democratic government in the Afghanistan, friendly to Pakistan to strengthen the trade and economic ties and earn revenue together from the so called "The New Great Game"⁴² pipeline project from Central to South Asian's Arabian Sea ports for rest of the world. Both the nations must be given their proper revenue to protect the World's interest (oil and gas pipe line) with commitments to utilized the same money on the development of their nations. Joint efforts are also to be made by the US and its allies to attract investor into Pakistan and Afghanistan that will help in generations of employment for their youth and uplift the general living standard of the people. The foreign investment will also open a new era of progress and prosperity by joining the today's competitive world. The utmost efforts are to be made to gain the confidence of the tribal leaders which will provide a vast platform to execute development plan. Pakistan's effort must be appreciated in its role to fight the war on terror and implement the peace accord among tribes for establishment of long lasting peace in tribal areas.

It is also prudent time for the US and the international community to resolve the long standing issue of Durand line between Pakistan and Afghanistan which will also help to fight the insurgent crossing border illegally. Kashmir issue also needs to be resolved to let Pakistan focus solely on the terrorist issue in its tribal areas.

USA.

The US development assistance programme is a positive step to uplift the tribal areas. It is considered that the annual amount of funding from US\$ 200 to 300 millions by the Bush administration and the US\$ 1.5 billion by the Obama administration is much lesser then the amount which is being spent in Iraq daily (i.e. the daily expenditure of the Iraq war is \$341.4 million⁴³ that become US\$ 124.6 Billion per year). The intensity of threat demands the revision of funding as demanded by the Pakistani ambassador US\$ 30 billion for five year to bring meaningful change into the tribal areas and prosperity in area at faster rate to eliminate the perceived threat of terrorist attacks on the US or the other western world. US must define its clear strategy with respect to Afghanistan, so that major groups i.e. Pashtoons or other tribes may be consulted and agreed to establish a broad base friendly government in Afghanistan.

It is considered that reality on ground must be taken into account and option to bring moderate Taliban on dialog table must be kept open with condition to withdraw all their support to Al-Qaeda network and destruction of their operative bases from Afghanistan. To avoid prolonged war efforts, the US must organize and equip the Afghan National Army and Police with the latest weaponry to fight terrorists and take control of the Afghanistan, their homeland as early as possible.

It is also a prime responsibility of US to use its influence to convince other world leading nations to provide remaining funding to Pakistan and Afghanistan to undertake rebuilding efforts and fighting the terrorists with commitment to make entire World safe from the terrorist threat which is still prevailing in the tribal areas.

Pakistan

Pakistan needs to use military and financial support to bring long lasting peace in the tribal areas. All facilities available with friendly countries must be fully utilized to train its Army and security forces in COIN warfare. Pakistan also must not waste this golden opportunity to use international influence to resolve its long standing issue of Kashmir with India and the Durand Line issue with Afghanistan. Pakistan is to convince its public to extend their cooperation to all international and the national elements to fight war on terror to bring peace in the tribal areas.

Afghanistan

Afghanistan, being the victim of prolonged war, needs to make strong friendly ties with all neighboring states to bring long lasting peace to the country. Afghanistan must play positive role to resolve the issue of Durand line with Pakistan to fight the terrorist threat more effectively and to promote economic activities between both the countries. Afghanistan's government must be committed to safe guarding the international interests within Afghanistan to attract investors to bring economic activity into the country, which is necessary for the prosperity of any nation.

CONCLUSION

FATA is considered the most dangerous place by the international community because it is believed that the world's most wanted Al Qaeda and Taliban top leadership is hiding them in its most difficult terrain. The root cause for their existence in these areas is cooperation of tribal people with them. As discussed earlier, people/youth are deprived of any respectable employment and security in areas. Some of them join the terrorist organizations to earn their daily living and some join due fear of life. The government of Pakistan is actively engaged to uplift their living standards with the cooperation of international community to create peaceful and secure environment for common man to live with respect and honor. Pakistan's Army is also fighting terrorist in its tribal areas to make its soil free from terrorist networks. The international community must understand the problems Pakistan is facing to bring peace in these area and accordingly, effective support must be provided in terms of training of its forces in counter insurgency (COIN) operations, military equipment, intelligence sharing. Pakistan must be

supported financially to implement development programme in its tribal areas. Pakistan also needs strong support from international community to resolve its regional long standing issues with neighboring countries to focus its intention purely on this core issue of terrorism. This will not only help to bring peace and harmony in Pakistan and Afghanistan, rather it will make whole world for the coming generations.

APPENDIX A

THE MAP OF FATA



Source: <http://www.heritage.org/research/middleeast/bg2076.cfm> (Accessed on 20 Jan 209)

APPENDIX B

THE MAP OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES (CAR)



Source: http://www.indiana.edu/%7Eafghan/maps/central_asia_map.jpg, (Accessed on 20 Jan 209)

APPENDIX C

FATA ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 2008 - 09 SECTOR / AGENCY - WISE FINANCIAL ASPECT

(Rs. in Million)															
S#	Agency/FR	Education	Health	P.H.E	Roads	Housing	Power	Agriculture	Forests	Rural Dev.	Regional Dev.	Integration	Technical Education	Total	NAEP
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	All FATA	177.881	129.221	17.110	221.550	57.401	57.765	35.370	54.740	19.422	229.088	98.020	16.044	1100.000	14.44
2	Bajaur	171.542	82.713	87.700	216.493	8.987	19.570	22.904	51.577	16.245	0.000	89.375	11.882	784.930	10.64
3	Mohmand	128.621	51.366	45.274	218.033	16.001	15.378	17.330	32.210	10.840	40.495	11.850	6.205	817.521	2.77
4	Khyber	185.449	55.216	86.095	250.834	23.000	22.341	19.188	65.755	28.220	43.895	57.110	9.583	880.625	11.42
5	Pesh FR	20.729	11.566	0.931	25.732	0.000	2.220	1.910	6.711	0.160	0.000	2.256	0.000	86.643	1.14
6	Kurram	202.987	101.154	31.145	259.105	16.949	22.223	27.018	62.017	10.029	11.705	76.706	9.324	804.202	11.36
7	Orakzai	93.109	42.151	38.445	134.518	3.658	10.559	12.556	16.250	5.768	21.339	38.175	0.000	414.919	5.45
8	Kohat FR	42.004	20.134	12.537	50.183	0.000	3.584	3.157	5.706	2.264	0.000	3.700	0.000	143.578	1.83
9	N W A	203.844	107.651	33.860	288.617	11.431	24.011	27.292	57.715	10.791	24.464	73.999	10.290	933.633	12.26
10	Bannu FR	31.822	8.523	12.261	26.018	0.967	2.820	6.214	4.951	5.205	0.000	11.253	0.000	109.654	1.44
11	Lakki FR	3.551	4.790	1.207	7.555	0.283	0.681	3.070	1.014	1.530	0.000	1.054	0.000	23.051	0.30
12	S W A	244.488	100.748	117.381	352.343	15.101	31.720	36.854	76.017	13.703	87.038	104.305	13.594	1213.629	16.20
13	Tank FR	37.918	21.921	21.485	50.881	0.749	4.470	4.031	7.053	7.125	0.000	14.374	0.000	173.817	2.29
14	DIKhan FR	63.643	29.128	38.203	90.073	0.000	0.000	3.395	12.055	3.206	3.500	31.737	0.000	280.353	3.69
TOTAL FATA ADP 2008-09		1805.726	829.694	464.737	2151.321	121.827	194.100	224.357	463.370	140.463	477.734	593.656	77.622	7516.002	100.00
Percentage (%)		71.10	33.89	5.73	28.50	1.99	2.60	2.86	6.86	1.24	6.27	7.85	1.02	100.00	

Source: FATA ADP 2008-09, Abstract-1, <http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/ADP/part1.pdf>, 1 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

APPENDIX D

FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015

Table 8: Issues and Strategies	
Overarching issues	Overall development strategies
Governance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The existing system of governance is one of the root causes of underdevelopment, and creates disparities between FATA and the rest of the country. Decision making is driven by vested interests and hampered by political interference. There is a lack of transparency and accountability in the implementation of development schemes. Checks and balances are missing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build on the ongoing governance reform process. Transform decision making to create transparent criteria and accommodate the needs of the people. Ensure that all development planning decisions are made public, so that the people are informed about specific responsibilities of implementing agencies. Introduce a strict monitoring system that involves beneficiaries.
Law and order <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The area faces acute problems with respect to law and order. Insecurity is high, with inter-tribe and -clan clashes, criminality and extremism affecting the quality of life. The existing legal framework and dispute resolution mechanisms do not guarantee access to justice for all citizens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build synergies with the political administration and law enforcement agencies to improve the security situation, so that a climate conducive to development may be created. Support the ongoing reform process to ensure that ordinary citizens have access to justice under an appropriate legal framework.
Society and culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The conservative nature of tribal society, with strong resistance to change in some quarters, hinders social and economic development. There is no room or opportunity for women to contribute to the development process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Raise awareness, increase access to information and knowledge, and improve education. Encourage the involvement of educated youth in the development of the area Create opportunities for women to participate in the development process, taking into account religious, social and cultural mores.
Services and utilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The overall level of education is low, with limited access to knowledge and information. Coverage of infrastructure facilities, services and utilities is patchy. The quality of service delivery in basic social sectors is inadequate. Past development initiatives have focused on infrastructure rather than on the human resources necessary to make facilities functional. There is a scarcity of professional and skilled labour. Access to savings and credit facilities for household and farming needs is inadequate. Capacity constraints exist within the ranks of service providers. Baseline data is unreliable, planning mechanisms and monitoring systems are ineffective. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop the capacity of local people to enable them to provide services in social and technical sectors. Rationalise the balance between infrastructure development and human resources development. Strengthen participation through social organisation and the involvement of local beneficiaries as user and interest groups. Bolster the institutional and human capacities of service providers to enable them to implement and monitor the SDP. Link savings and credit facilities with the development of social organisations at the grassroots level. Improve working conditions and living facilities for service providers to ensure better service delivery. Develop and update sector- and agency-specific baseline data and indicators.
Economy and Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Few indigenous options exist for entrepreneurial activity. Employment and income-generation opportunities are severely limited. There is no legal framework for private-sector investment. Financial services are not available. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Create an environment conducive to economic development through major public-sector investment. Develop skills based on the demands of the market. Provide a regulatory framework for investment. Ensure the availability of financial services for enterprise.
Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Environmental degradation is occurring, with deforestation, intermittent drought and groundwater depletion. There is no regulatory framework for environmental management. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develop a regulatory framework for environmental management. Ensure that development activities are environment- friendly. Promote the restoration and sustainable use of natural

Source: FATA SDP public consultations and sector analyses, 2006.

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 18 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

APPENDIX E

Table 37: Consolidated budget for the FATA SDP (2006—15)			
Sector	Budget (million rupees)		
	Years 1—5	Years 6—9	Total
Education	15,604.00	12,041.00	27,645.00
Health	8,300.00	5,400.00	13,700.00
Water supply and sanitation	2,385.000	1,655.000	4,040.000
Rural development	1,335.000	515.000	1,850.000
Agriculture	5,815.000	4,300.000	10,115.000
Livestock and poultry	1,195.000	790.000	1,985.000
Forestry	4,230.000	3,320.000	7,550.000
Fisheries	435.000	250.000	685.000
Irrigation, water management and power	5,450.000	3,613.000	9,063.000
Roads and bridges	27,825.000	6,955.000	34,780.000
Physical planning and housing	1,000.000	405.000	1,405.000
Industry	2,025.000	1,395.000	3,420.000
Mining	3,310.00	2,040.00	5,350.00
Commerce and trade	36.000	10.000	46.000
Tourism	285.000	140.000	425.000
Skills development	419.000	210.000	629.000
Cross-cutting initiatives	960.000	460.000	1,420.000
FATA SDP total (2006—15)	80,609.000	43,499.000	124,108.000

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 148 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

APPENDIX F

Table 38: Funding arrangements, FATA SDP (2006—15)		
Item		Amount (billion rupees)
Total financial requirement		124.108
Total committed finances		63.600
	Government of Pakistan	60.000
	Foreign-aided projects	3.600
Unfunded financial portfolio		60.508

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 148 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

APPENDIX G

FATA SDP development matrix (2006—15)				
Sector indicators	Baseline	Targets		Progress
	2006	5 years	9 years	9 years
Education				
Literacy rate, total (per cent)	16	22	31	+ 94
Male literacy (per cent)	29	38	50	+ 72
Female literacy (per cent)	3	6	12	+ 300
Primary school enrolment, total (per cent)	50	60	75	+ 50
Male enrolment (per cent)	70	80	90	+ 28
Female enrolment (per cent)	30	40	60	+ 100
Health				
Infant mortality (deaths per 1,000 live births)	87	83	77	- 10
Maternal mortality (deaths per 100,000 live births)	600	500	400	- 200
Water supply and sanitation	NA	NA	NA	NA
Access to improved sources of drinking water (per cent)	54	65	75	+ 39
Access to improved sanitation (per cent)	10	17	25	+ 150
Agriculture				
Cultivated area (hectares)	200,000	240,000	265,000	+ 65,000
Agriculture pocket areas (number)	0	3	4	+ 4
Livestock and poultry				
Meat production, ruminants and poultry (per cent)	NA	+ 5	+ 10	+ 10
Milk production (per cent)	NA	+ 7	+ 15	+ 15%
Livestock pocket areas (number)	0	2	3	+ 3
Forestry				
Forest cover (hectares, as percentage of total area)	7.8	10	12	+ 54
Survival rate of tree plantations	NA	60%	60%	NA
Fisheries				
Fish production (tonnes)	100	400	1,000	+ 900%
Irrigation, water management and power				
Land under irrigation (hectares)	83,000	120,000	160,000	+ 93%
Roads and bridges				
Road density (kilometre per square kilometre of area)	0.20	0.24	0.27	+ 35%
NA = not available				
Source: Civil Secretariat FATA				

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 146 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

APPENDIX H

Industry (FATA SDP budget, 2006—15)				
Activity	Budget (million rupees)			Major Expenditure
	Years 1—5	Years 6—9	Total	
Industrial pockets or clusters	150.00	50.00	200.00	Advocacy, field visits
Skills development centres	100.00	50.00	150.00	Support for upgrading existing industries, training, stipends for students. Hiring of subject experts
Local guilds	50.00	25.00	75.00	Database. Training, workshops, meetings. Experts to assist in developing standards
FATA industrial/engineering research unit/chair	200.00	150.00	350.00	Staff, research, dissemination of findings. Coordination, consultations
Two 'reconstruction opportunity Zones' in FATA	1,300.00	1,000.00	2,300.00	Land and infrastructure development
Regulatory authority	25.00	20.00	45.00	Staff, dialogue with stakeholders
Institutional strengthening	200.00	100.00	300.00	Staff, salaries, establishment cost
Total	2,025.00	1,395.00	3,420.00	

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 107 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

Mining (FATA SDP budget, 2006—15)				
Activity	Budget (million rupees)			Major Expenditure
	Years 1—5	Years 6—9	Total	
Evaluation, exploration and development of coal	400.00	200.00	600.00	Geological exploration, exploratory drilling. Estimation and development of reserves
Mechanised marble quarrying, model quarries	180.00	120.00	300.00	Land, development. Buildings, machinery and equipment
Evaluation, exploration and development of copper	500.00	300.00	800.00	Regional, geochemical, geological and geophysical surveys. Exploratory drilling
Establishment of 'mini-marble city'	150.00	100.00	250.00	Cost of land, infrastructure development
Development and exploration of other mineral resources	500.00	300.00	800.00	Geological and geographic surveys, exploratory drilling. Development of resources
Infrastructure facilities in mining areas	900.00	600.00	1,500.00	Cost of small access roads and other infrastructure facilities
Capacity building (mine owners, workers)	500.00	300.00	800.00	Training, training materials. Stipends for workers. Short courses for trainers.
Institutional strengthening	180.00	120.00	300.00	Recruitment of experts, logistical support. Short courses, training visits. Support for dispute resolution
Total	3,310.00	2,040.00	5,350.00	

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 113 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

Estimated production of minerals (FATA, 2004—05)									
Agency	Quantity (tonnes)								
	Marble	Limestone	Coal	Chromate	Quartz	Soapstone	Scrap	Manganese	Fluorite
Bajaur	18,973	130	—	—	—	282	—	90	—
Khyber	7,092	453,932	—	—	—	2,370	—	—	—
Kurram	—	—	35,505	—	—	—	—	—	90
Mohmand	543,749	—	—	3,377	29,759	2,360	279	—	—
North Waziristan	705	32	140	31,830	—	—	—	—	—
Orakzai	—	—	142,725	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	570,519	454,094	178,370	35,207	29,759	5,012	279	90	90
Source: GoNWFP, 2005a.									

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 110 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

Irrigation, water and power (FATA SDP budget, 2006—15)				
Activity	Budget (million rupees)			Major Expenditure
	Years 1—5	Years 6—9	Total	
Rehabilitation of surface irrigation schemes	700.00	100.00	800.00	Design fee, construction cost of structures
River training, flood protection	800.00	250.00	1,050.00	Design fee, construction cost of structures
Water management, high-efficiency irrigation	800.00	550.00	1,350.00	Design fee, construction cost of structures
Feasibility studies, construction of 20 small dams	2,160.00	2,165.00	4,325.00	Consultancy and design fee, construction cost of structures
Construction of 450 hydel power generation units	700.00	418.00	1,118.00	Design fee, construction cost of structures
Rehabilitation of tube wells, installation of new tube wells	40.00	30.00	70.00	Consultancy and design fee, machinery, construction works
Institutional strengthening and capacity building	250.00	100.00	350.00	Salary of additional staff, transport, office operational expenses
Total	5,450.00	3,613.00	9,063.00	

Source: FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015,
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, page 91 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books.

Musharraf, Pervaiz. *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir*. New York: Free Press, 2006.

Weaver, Mary Anne. *Pakistan: In the Shadow of Jihad and Afghanistan*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002.

Abbas, Hassan. *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism the Army: Allah and America's War on Terror*. New York: M.E Sharpe, Inc, 2005.

Maloney, Sean M. *Enduring the Freedom: A Rouge Historian in Afghanistan*. Washington DC: Potomac Books, Inc, 2005.

Mohmand, Shah Muhammad. *FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan): A Socio-Cultural and Geo-Political History*.

Robertson, Ann E. *Terrorism and Global Security*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007.

Falk, Avner. *Islamic Terror: Conscious and Unconscious Motives*. Westport, CT USA: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008.

Sinno, Abdulkader H. *Organizations at War: In Afghanistan and Beyond*. New York: Cornell University, 2008.

Mills, Nick B. *Karzai: The Failing American Intervention and the Struggle for Afghanistan*. New Jersey: John Wily & Sons, Inc, 2007.

Rashid, Ahmed. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Marsden, Peter. *Taliban: War and Religion in Afghanistan*. New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002.

Williams, Paul L. *Al Qaeda: Brotherhood of Terror*. USA: Alpha , 2002.

Morgan, Matthew J. *A Democracy is Born: An insider's Account of the Battle Against Terrorism in Afghanistan*. Westport CT: Praeger Security International, 2007.

Interviews.

His Highness Mr. Husain Haqqani, The Pakistan Ambassador to USA

Parker, Thomas. Expert on Afghanistan and South Asia in Office of the US Secretary of Defense, December 22, 2008.

Dr. Amin Tarzai, the Middle East chair at MCU

Journals and Magazines.

Roper, Daniel S. "Global Counterinsurgency: Strategic Clarity for the Long War." *Parameters* Vol . XXXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn 2008): 92-108.

Wirsing, Robert G. "Introduction: Emerging Trends and Developments in Pakistan's FATA- Implications for United States." *NBR Analysis, Challenges Facing Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)*. <http://nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol19no3.pdf>. Volume 19, Number 3(August 2008): 3-12.

Khan, Ijaz. "Challenges Facing Development in Pakistan's FATA." *NBR Analysis, Challenges Facing Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)*. <http://nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol19no3.pdf>. Volume 19, Number 3(August 2008): 13-20.

Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. "Challenges facing a counter Militant Campaign in Pakistan's FATA." *NBR Analysis, Challenges Facing Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)*. <http://nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol19no3.pdf>. Volume 19, Number 3(August 2008): 21-29.

Governmental Publications.

Center for the Study of the Presidency, Afghanistan Study Group Report, Revitalizing our Efforts Rethinking our Strategies by General James L. Jones, USMC (ret) and Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering. Washington Dc: Center for the Study of the Presidency. Second edition, 2008, Jan 30.

CRS Reports.

Feickert, Andrew. US Military Operations in the Global War on Terrorism: Afghanistan, Africa the Philippines, and Colombia. CRS report for Congress RL32758. Washington, DC: Congressional Report Service, February 4, 2005. <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/RL32758.pdf>

Student Thesis in Print.

Thomsett, H.F.J. "Al-Qaeda and Fourth Generation war: Forging a New Paradigm to Defeat the Jihadists," Master's thesis, CSC Marine Corps University, 2005.

¹Almighty Allah is the standard Arabic word for 'God' by all Muslims. It is also used by Arabic-speakers of all Abrahamic faiths, including Christians and Jews, in reference to "God".

² Rashid Ahmed, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. London: Yale University Press, 2000, 151 and 159

³ Shah Muhammad, *FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan): A Socio-Cultural and Geo-Political History*, ii-v

⁴ Government of Pakistan official website for FATA, Administrative System
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/subpages/admnssystem.php> (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

⁵ The Constitution of Pakistan Articles 51(1) (A), 59(1)(a), 246 and 247),
<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part3.ch2.html> and
<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part12.ch3.html>. (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

⁶ Governor of the NWFP and Baluchistan in their capacity as an agent to the President of Pakistan, under the overall supervision of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions in Islamabad administered the tribal areas (FATA and PATA both) through political agents and the tribal leaders/elders. Pakistan inherited this system of governance from Britain. According to the constitution of Pakistan, the tribal areas have been given representation in the parliament of Pakistan. The regular funds are provided through annual budget to these Member of Parliament and tribal leaders for the development of their tribes.

⁷ The tribal areas have the population of 3.176 million and spread over an area of 27,220 sq km. These areas are the combination of complex hills and ridges, mountains, peaks with barren slopes. The mountain ranges are generally up to 3500 meters high and the highest peak is the Sikaram peak 4760 meters above the sea level on the Pak Afghan border. Government of Pakistan web site, FATA at glance, Physical features and climate
<http://www.fata.gov.pk/subpages/climate.php> (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

⁸ Ijaz Khan, "Challenges Facing Development in Pakistan's FATA." NBR Analysis, Challenges Facing Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). <http://nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol19no3.pdf>. Volume 19, Number 3(August 2008): 19

⁹ Dr Maleeha Iodhi Former Pakistan Ambassador to the US, The Pakistan - US Relationship
<http://www.defencejournal.com/april98/pakistanus.htm> (Accessed on 18 Jan 2009)

¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹ Paul L Williams, *Al Qaeda: Brotherhood of Terror*. USA: Alpha, 2002.xiii, 1, 79.

¹² *Ibid* 79

¹³ Pervaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 201

¹⁴ Ted Rall, Against Us or Against Us: Ted Rall on Musharraf, Pakistan's Con Man,
<http://newsgroups.derkeiler.com/pdf/Archive/Soc/soc.culture.pakistan/2007-11/msg00059.pdf> (accessed on 15 April 2009)

¹⁵ Pervaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 265-67

¹⁶ Tim Mcgirk, Peshawar, In Hot Pursuit? <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,221139,00.html>, (accessed on 15 April 2009)

¹⁷ *Ibid*

-
- ¹⁸ Dr. Joseph Gerson, "The Afghan War - A U.S. Peace Movement Perspective" Written for *Junge Welt* in Germany, May 25, 2008, <http://www.afsc.org/cambridge/ht/a/GetDocumentAction/i/71623> (Accessed on 22 Jan 2009)
- ¹⁹ Joseph Gerson, "The US War in Afghanistan: Goals, Future, and Alternatives" International Afghanistan Congress Hanover, Germany June 7-8, 2008, <http://www.commondreams.org/archive/2008/06/09/9508> (Accessed on 15 Feb 2009) [werw9]
- ²⁰ Ahmed. Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. London: Yale University Press, 2000, 18
- ²¹ David Miliband accused of 'arrogance' over Kashmir comments
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/4307840/David-Miliband-accused-of-arrogance-over-Kashmir-comments.html> (Accessed on 22 Jan 2009)
- ²² The Constitution of Pakistan, PART XII, Miscellaneous, Chapter 3. Tribal Areas
<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part12.ch3.html> (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)
- ²³ Pakistan Statistical Pocket Book 2006
http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/fbs/publications/pocket_book2006/pocket_book.html and
http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/fbs/publications/pocket_book2006/2.pdf (Accessed on 18 Jan 2009)
- ²⁴ Population Census Organization http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/pco/statistics/other_tables/literacy_ratio.pdf
(Accessed on 22 Jan 2009)
- ²⁵ Faryal Leghari, *Perspectives on Terrorism - Volume II, Issue 10 Dealing with FATA: Strategic Shortfalls and Recommendations* http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php?option=com_rokzine&view=article&id=61, 25
(Accessed on 17 Jan 2009)
- ²⁶ *ibid*
- ²⁷ James Carroll, *The Nation*, September 2, 2004, The Bush Crusade <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20040920/carroll>
(Accessed on 23 Jan 2009)
- ²⁸ The New York Times dated Thursday, January 29, 2009, opinion, The New Great Game in Asia, published January 2, 1996 <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C06E4D61539F931A35752C0A960958260>
(Accessed on 24 Jan 2009)
- ²⁹ Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. London: Yale University Press, 2000, 143, 151, 157-182, 220
- ³⁰ A World Leader's Comments On The War On Terrorism, http://www.islamic-world.net/war/world_leader_comments.htm (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)
- ³¹ FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015, <http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, 6, (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)
- ³² FATA ADP 2008-09, Abstract-1, <http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/ADP/part1.pdf>, 1 (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)
- ³³ It is a development programme of the Government executed through members of Parliaments, Khushhal is an Urdu (Pakistani national language) word which mean progressive.
- ³⁴ FATA Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) 2006-2015, <http://www.fata.gov.pk/downloads/sdp.pdf>, (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

³⁵ U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher announced a \$750 million, five-year aid package to enhance security along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and to develop the FATA. Susan Chesser, Pakistan: Significant Recent Events. CRS report for the congress RL33954. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, April 9, 2007. <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl33954.pdf>

³⁶ John D. Negroponte, Deputy Secretary of State, Pakistan's FATA challenges: Securing one of the World's most dangerous Areas, <http://www.state.gov/s/d/2008/105041.htm> (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

³⁷ A Pakistan based paramilitary force to guard the Pak Afghan border region. FC has unique advantage of operating in the tribal areas due to their linguistic and ethnic similarities.

³⁸ John D. Negroponte, Deputy Secretary of State, Pakistan's FATA challenges: Securing one of the World's most dangerous Areas, <http://www.state.gov/s/d/2008/105041.htm> (Accessed on 20 Jan 2009)

³⁹ Mike, Mullen. "Building Our Best Weapon", Washington Post, Feb 15, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/02/13/AR2009021302580.html> (Accessed on 16 Feb 2009)

⁴⁰ Remarks by the President of the United State of America, *A New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan*, Friday, March 27, 2009 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/09/03/27/A-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan/> (Accessed on 10 April 2009)

⁴¹ Husain Haqqani Pakistani Ambassador Interview, "*Pakistan: We need a Marshall Plan*" By Sara A. Carter and S.A. Miller, April 8, 2009 <http://www3.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/apr/08/pakistan-we-need-a-marshall-plan/>

⁴² A plan to lay pipe line to export the oil and gas of Central Asian States to rest of the world through Afghanistan and the Pakistan up to Arabian sea. It will provide enough revenue to both Pakistan and Afghanistan to bring prosperity in their areas.

⁴³ National Priorities Project analyzes and clarifies federal data so that people can understand and influence how their tax dollars are spent The War in Iraq Costs \$341.4 million per day, http://www.nationalpriorities.org/costofwar_home